

Distal Demonstrative *Hitlo* in Taiwanese Southern Min^{*}

Yi-jing Zhao

National Taiwan Normal University, Linguistic Program,
Taipei, Taiwan
yjying7@yahoo.com.tw

Abstract. This article investigates the use of distal demonstrative *Hitlo* in Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM) from a discourse-pragmatic perspective. The analysis is based on a 5-hour corpus of spoken data, including daily conversations, radio interviews, TV drama series, and some random examples. A total of 172 tokens of *Hitlos* are identified in the data. They can be divided into six categories according to their functions: firstly, exophoric usage, those *Hitlos* which refer to an object non-linguistically which can be identified in the immediate situation; secondly, endophoric usage, those which refer to an element textually; thirdly, referent introducing function, those which can be used to introduce a new but identifiable referent into the conversation (the referent usually has topical importance); fourthly, hedging expression, those which serve as a marker of imprecision; fifthly, a condition introducing marker, those which function as an indicator of the coming of a conditional sentence; finally, pause fillers, those which help speakers to manage speech turn or indicate the mental states. In addition, an interactive function which *Hitlo* is found to serve will be discussed. Moreover, a grammaticalizational process involving semantic bleaching which *Hitlo* is probably undergoing is revealed in general. Finally, a filled demonstrative principle, stating that it may be a universal phenomenon to use demonstratives as filled pause will be proposed.

Key words: Deixis; Pause Filler; Demonstrative; Grammaticalization; Taiwanese Southern Min

1. Introduction

Deixis refers to certain elements in language whose interpretations rely highly on the situation within which an utterance takes place. Deictic terms refer frequently to personal, temporal or locational information of an immediate situation. It includes personal pronouns (e.g. *I*, *you*), demonstratives (e.g. *this*, *that*), and certain adverbs that indicate time (e.g. *tomorrow*) and place (e.g. *here*, *there*). The investigation of deictic terms has been one of the most prevalent topics in linguistic inquiry. In Mandarin Chinese, for instance, the complexity of demonstratives has been examined by scholars like Huang (1999) and Liu (2003). Through exploring the versatility of Chinese demonstratives in natural occurring conversations, Huang argues that

^{*} I am grateful for the crucial comments from the anonymous reviewers, which help sharpen and clarify several main points in this paper. Special thanks go to Professor Miao-Hsia Chang and Professor Hsueh-O Lin for the critical comments and suggestions. Also, I thank my grandfather, Zhu-Mu Zhao, my parents, Su-Ying Chen and Shan-Long Zhao, my brother, Shi-Jie Zhao and my sister Ya-Ling Zhao for the encouragements on all occasions.

distal deixis *nage* is being grammaticalized as a definite article in Mandarin Chinese. Latter, Liu investigates the complexity of proximal deixis and it is emphasized that *zheyang(zi)* has been grammaticalized from a demonstrative to a discourse boundary marker in natural conversations.

Demonstratives in Taiwanese, however, have not been fully investigated. Specifically, previous studies relating to Taiwanese demonstratives frequently restrict their analyses to syntactic patterns or semantic diversities. Very few of them can take a discourse-pragmatic perspective to explore versatile usages of Taiwanese demonstratives in natural conversations. Li (1999) and Chang (2002) are among the few scholars who can take a discourse-pragmatic approach to examine demonstratives in Taiwanese. Li stresses an interactive function of *He* and *Che* in Taiwanese and a grammaticalization development of *He* and *Che* are also revealed in the study. Chang takes a parallel approach as Li. She classifies *Anne* in Taiwanese into six categories in accordance with its functions and syntactic patterns and some grammaticalization effects are observed in the study. However, a detailed study of *hitlo* ‘that’ in Taiwanese has not yet been conducted and it performs functions which are not found in the aforementioned deictic elements. *Hitlo*, a distal demonstrative, is frequently used in Taiwanese Southern Min. The purpose of this paper, hence, is to analyze the use of distal deixis *hitlo* in Taiwanese spoken discourse from a discourse-pragmatic perspective. The focus will be on various functions which *hitlo* can serve in spoken discourse. In particular, the study will show that *hitlo* seems to serve an interactive function in Taiwanese Southern Min. Moreover, the present study will reveal a grammaticalization process which *hitlo* is probably undergoing in Taiwanese spoken discourse.

The data for this study consist of 27 stretches of talk drawn from audio recordings of daily conversations, telephone conversations, radio interviews, TV drama series and random examples. A total of 172 tokens of *hitlo* are identified in the data bank. The data are transcribed into intonation units (IU) and the transcription notations proposed by Du Bois et al. (1993) are followed.

Following this section, section 2 will provide a review of previous relevant works on which the analysis and discussion are based. Section 3 discusses versatile functions of *hitlo* in Taiwanese. Section 4 reveals the grammaticalization process of *hitlo*. Section 5 is the conclusion.

2. Review of literature

This section is divided into two parts. First, previous works related to demonstratives. Due to a lack of direct studies on *hitlo*, works on demonstratives will be discussed instead. Also, the grammaticalizational phenomenon will be reviewed in general. The latter will serve as the theoretical background knowledge of the present study.

2.1. Demonstratives in previous studies

Traditional analyses for demonstratives are usually restricted to identify their meanings and distributions at sentential level. Chao (1968) classified uses of demonstratives into referential and non-referential usages. Cheng (1989) also investigated various functions of deixis. He found that distal deixis in Taiwanese can function as a proform of a predicate. This specific use of distal deixis, according to Cheng, is to “substitute for adjectives which the speaker is unwilling to explicitly state (1).”

- (1) 你 抵即 的 態度 實在 有 一點 傷過 彼 lo 啦
 you just ASSC attitude really have a.little too that PR
 ‘Your attitude is really too that.’

This proform usage is similar to the hedging expression of *hitlo* which will be discussed in detail in section 3. Compared to Chao (1968), much more functions of demonstratives are

scrutinized in Cheng's study. However, both studies focus on sentence level and examples used in both analyses are not extracted from spoken discourse. Their analyses, hence, may not be enough to provide a persuasive and satisfying overview of multiple functions that demonstratives can fulfill.

Not until recently have versatile functions of demonstratives been investigated at discourse level (Biq 1990; Tao 1994, 1999; Huang 1999; Lee 1999; Chang 2002). Biq (1990) studies the use of *na(me)* in Chinese. She tries to argue that as a discourse connector, *na(me)* is used to mark a connection of units of talks and thus establish the relevance of the following talks to the prior. Tao (1994, 1999) emphasizes the intricacy of demonstrative discourse usages in Chinese in order to argue against the restricted view of demonstrative usages proposed in traditional studies. Huang (1999) identifies eight discourse functions of Chinese demonstratives; a more significant finding is that the distal demonstrative *nage* may undergo a grammaticalizational effect and may evolve into a definite article in spoken Chinese. Compared to Biq, Tao and Huang, who investigate Chinese demonstratives, Li and Chang explore the versatile discourse functions of demonstratives in Taiwanese. Li (1999) takes a pragmatic-discoursal approach to study Taiwanese proximal deixis *che* and distal deixis *he*. In her study, Li holds that the meaning contrast between *che* and *he* does not depend primarily on the spatial distinction, but on an interactive aspect, *che* signaling speaker's own involvement, while *he* being a mark of addressee's involvement. Chang (2002) adopts the same approach to examine multiple functions of Taiwanese proximal deixis *anne* and classifies its usages into six categories based on its discourse functions and syntactic patterns. Furthermore, both Li and Chang have argued that a grammaticalizational effect concerning semantic shift is demonstrated in the use of Taiwanese proximal deixis. In contrast to the traditional analyses, all of these studies base their arguments on spoken data beyond sentence level, making their analyses more convincing. However, their studies still do not illustrate overall functions that demonstratives can fulfill in Taiwanese, for example, filled pause and hedge expression (These usages will be discussed in section 3 in detail); more specifically speaking, studies relating to Taiwanese demonstratives are still insufficient. The investigation of *hitlo* in the present study, hence, aims to supplement the limitations of previous studies.

2.2. Theoretical assumption

The theoretical assumption of this study is that the semantic and pragmatic change of a lexical item is a dynamic and unidirectional process which follows a path from deictic through textual to communicative functions (Traugott 1982, 1989, 1990, 1991). Traugott in 1989 revised this path to the following three tendencies:

1. Semantic-pragmatic Tendency I:
Meanings based in the external described situation → meanings based in the internal (evaluative/ perceptual/ cognitive) situation
2. Semantic-pragmatic Tendency II:
Meanings based in the described external or internal situation → meanings based in the textual situation
3. Semantic-pragmatic Tendency III:
Meanings tend to become increasingly situated in the speaker's subjective belief-state/attitude toward the situation

Note that all three tendencies proposed by Traugott suggest that the directionality of grammaticalization is from concrete to abstract. The shift of *while* in English from a noun or adverb meaning of 'period, time' through a conjunction meaning 'at the time' to a marker denoting adversative or concessive meaning is an obvious example of this kind of grammaticalization path.

3. Discussion

3.1. Exophoric use and endophoric use

A demonstrative may refer to an entity located in an immediate situation within which the speech event takes place. When used to refer to an object in an extralinguistic situation, demonstratives often accompany gestures or eye contact. In addition to its exophoric usage, distal deixis *hitlo* is also used to refer to a referent in previous discourse. The two common usages are not the focus of this paper, so examples will not be provided.

3.2. Referent-introducing function

According to Huang (1999), the distal deixis *nage* in Chinese can introduce a new but familiar and identifiable referent into the discourse. In addition, the referent being introduced usually has topical significance. Distal deixis *hitlo* is found to fulfill the same function in Taiwanese. The following extract is an illustration of the referent-introducing function served by *hitlo*:

(4) (Speaker F and M is talking about what kinds of dishes people should eat in January 1st according to the lunar calendar.)

F1:(0)你 你 正月 初一,
you you January first
...有 吃 什麼 菜 bo.
have eat what dish PR

F1: 'What kind of dish do you eat on January first?'

M1:...eN,
FP

→ ..阮 正月 初一 是 吃 彼 lo,
we January first be eat hitlo
..<L2 什錦菜 L2>.
Chowchow

M1: 'We usually eat chowchow on January first.'

F2:...喔.

RT
..宛若 有 吃 <L2 什錦菜 L2> 喔.
also have eat chowchow RT

F2: 'You also eat chowchow.'

M2:(0)heN 阿.
yes PR

..十四 項.
fourteen CL
..裏底 是 十四 項.
inside be fourteen CL

M2: 'Yes. There are fourteen ingredients.'

F3:...有影 喔.
really PR

F3: 'Really.'

M3:(0)heN.
RT

M3: 'Yes.'

F4:...喔=.

RT
...按呢 復 卡 厲害.

anne still more great
 F4: 'This is better than us.'
 M4:...heN.
 RT
 M4: 'Yes.'

In (4), Speaker F and M is talking about a kind of dish which people used to eat in January 1st. In (M1), the dish, chowchow, is introduced by *hitlo* into the discourse and is instantly accepted by F. Then, they go on to talk about this dish for a total of 13 intonation units.

Notice that the occurrence of *hitlo* in (4) can be omitted without affecting the addressee's understanding of the intended meaning by the speaker. This forces us to consider that why speaker M selects to add the seemingly redundant distal deixis here. A closer observation on the context seems to suggest we should adopt a different perspective to view the choice of *hitlo* by the speaker. If a need to ensure interpersonal involvement is taken into account, the question is probably not that difficult to answer. Cheshire (1996) defines 'involvement' as "an assumption that spoken discourse is a collaborative production, with speakers and addressees working together to produce meaning as the discourse unfolds." Viewing *hitlo* from this perspective, then, the occurrence of *hitlo* in (4) can be explained more easily and thoroughly.

Now, let's reconsider example (4). In (4), speaker F asks what kind of dish speaker M usually eats in January 1st. Speaker M in M1 answers with a common dish which people usually eat in January 1st. Obviously, speaker M assumes that speaker F must know this dish for it is a culturally related concept and a kind of shared understanding. The use of *hitlo* overtly manifests the speaker's intention to invite the addressee to concentrate on their shared knowledge with an aim to achieving a common understanding. The use of *hitlo* here, thus, indicates an interpersonal involvement. Cheshire (1996) and Li (1999) are among the few researchers that recognize the interactive function of demonstratives.

3.3.Hedging expression

Hedging expressions are elements in language "which makes messages indeterminate, that is, convey inexactitude, or in one way or another mitigates or reduces the strength of the assertions that speakers or writers make" (Mauranen 2004). These expressions fall into two main types: vagueness indicators and mitigators. Vagueness indicators are elements indicating fuzziness, imprecision, approximation and so on (2004: 179). Though Cheng (1989) senses this function which *hitlo* can perform, he did not explain it in detail and discuss it in discourse level. The following example aims to supplement the deficiency.

(5)(Speaker E, an English teacher, is talking with the other three speakers about English education.)

E:按呢 就 勿會—
 anne TOH not
 就 有夠 a la\
 TOH enough PR PR
 ..<L2 那%L2>--
 that
 你 若講 欲 <L2再 學得 更 深 L2>,_
 you if say want more learn even in-depth
 參像講—
 for example
 <L2外面 L2>就 是 講 我 質馬 在—
 outside TOH be say I now at

...<L2^比喻 L2> e 彼 寡 彼 lo hoN,\
 similitude NM that some hitlo PT
 ...<L2 幼兒 L2> e 彼 寡 <L2 英文 L2> e=--
 children ASSC that some English ASSC
 hoN,\
 PR
 彼 類 彼 寡 彼._
 That kind that some that
 ...<L2 何嘉仁 L2> la hoN,_
 Hess PR PR
 啊 足濟 e la.\
 PR many ASSC PR
 替 伊 廣告 沒 要緊 la,_
 for it advertise no matter PR

E: 'This is enough. If you want to learn more, there are many ways, for example, English cram schools for children or something like that. Hess or something. There are many cram schools outside. It does not matter to advertise for it (Hess).'

In this excerpt, speaker E is talking about English cram schools for children. However, she does not want to specify these cram schools for she is afraid that her audience will think she is advertising for these cram schools. To avoid being regarded as advertising in a public place, speaker E uses many vague category markers such as 彼寡 'some' and 彼類 'that kind', together with 彼 lo 'that', to indicate that an unspecified category is being talked about. These vague expressions together convey the meaning that it is not important to know each instance in this category for it is not the focus of the present conversation. The use of *hitlo* helps the addressee interpreting utterances of the speaker more easily, and directs the addressees' attention on the vague category. *Hitlo*, hence, expresses the speaker's intention to get her addressees into the conversation.

3.4. Condition introducing marker

Some *hitlos* in the data occur in the context that the speaker wants to express a condition. These *hitlos* seem to designate an upcoming conditional sentence.

(6)(A is talking about fruits.)

A: (0) 其實 hoN,
 Actually PR
 你 講 柳柳丁 hoN,
 you say oranges PR
 → ..柳丁 若 彼 lo hoN,
 Oranges if hitlo PR
 ..差不多 過年 了 後 盡量 勿會吃.
 Almost Chinese.New.Year Asp after had.better not eat
 因爲 伊 彼 大部份 攞 洗 藥仔 攞 起來攞.
 Because they that most all wash medicine all up preserve
 A: 'Actually, if it is almost the time after the Chinese New Year, you'd better not to eat oranges because most oranges at the time are preserved by some medicine.'

In this excerpt, speaker A is trying to tell his hearer that if it is about the time after the Chinese New Year, the hearer had better not to eat the oranges. Because most oranges during the time are preserved by medicines, eating these oranges may be harmful to health. Hence, the hearer had better not to eat oranges after Chinese New Year. *Hitlo* in the fourth intonation unit occurs in the context of a condition. The occurrence of *hitlo* here, thus, seems to indicate that a conditional sentence will follow. Note again that *hitlo* here has a signaling function. The speaker uses *hitlo* to alert the hearer that a conditional sentence is coming while constructing the emerging utterance. The use of *hitlo* here, thus, is still interactive in nature. It facilitates hearer's understanding of the planes of discourse context. Again, an addressee-involvement is achieved by the use of *hitlo*.

3.5. Pause filler

The use of demonstratives as filled pauses (FPs) has been sensed by many linguists. Huang (1999) explicitly specifies that demonstratives can be used as a filled pause and he provides a more detailed description of this function. However, he did not notice the interactive function these demonstratives serve. Later in Zhao et al. (2005), they claim that "besides reduced vowel FPs, Mandarin intensively employs demonstratives as FPs." This study, however, is a preliminary one and the focus of the study seems to be on the acoustic features and distributional patterns of Filled pauses. In order to have a complete understanding on the pause filler function of demonstratives, a more detailed observation is required. The present study shows that *hitlo* also serves as a pause filler in Taiwanese. Moreover, *hitlos* serving as pause fillers can be further grouped into three different functions: first, floor maintaining; second, planning difficulty and third, boundary of discourse topics. These functions have been widely discussed in the literature, so examples will not be given in the study.

4. Discourse functions of *Hitlo* in relation to its grammaticalization

In section 3, several functions which demonstrative *hitlo* performs in the planes of discourse are illustrated. The discussion reveals that these functions of *hitlo* cannot be explained in terms of a pure deictic word. In fact, a close observation of the versatile functions seems to suggest that *hitlo* is probably undergoing a grammaticalizational process including semantic bleaching from its fundamental deictic usage to a discourse marker. In this section, thus, a possible grammaticalization process of *hitlo* will be explored in general.

An examination of the functions of *hitlo* shows that the grammaticalizational process proceeds from extralinguistic through textual to interactive. The basic deictic meaning of *hitlo* is to refer to a referent situated in the immediate utterance context, that is, an extralinguistic function. Latter, the deictic usage is extended to indicate what has been or is going to be mentioned in the co-text, that is, an exophoric usage, referent-introducing function and hedging expression. The extension of deictic meaning to textual reference seems to suggest the existence of a metaphorical shift from the domain of non-linguistic real world situation to the domain of discourse universe. Latter, the use of *hitlo* extends to a metalinguistic function. It serves a signaling function as to foretell the hearer the coming of a conditional sentence. Finally, it further extends to a discourse marker, connecting two units of discourse. The process seems to correspond to the three stages of grammaticalizational tendencies proposed by Traugott. The grammaticalization process of *hitlo* seems to go from Tendency I through Tendency II to Tendency III.

In addition, a careful scrutiny of the transformation in its syntactic distribution or semantic content also supports the idea that *hitlo* is undergoing a grammaticalizational effect. Syntactically, *hitlo* seems to descend from an intra-sentential position through a clause boundary further to a discourse boundary. Among its referential usages, that is, exophoric usage, endophoric usage, and hedging expression, *hitlo* does participate in the syntactic structure of the sentence. Omitting it seems to result in some kind of ungrammaticality.

However, when it functions as a condition introducing marker or pause filler, its significance in syntactic structure seems to reduce dramatically. The omission of *hitlo* under these two circumstances will not affect the grammaticality of the sentences. Semantically, *hitlo* seems to proceed from a lexical element through a text-building signal to a semantic void discourse marker. Again, when functioning referentially, *hitlo* does contribute its semantic content to the proposition of the sentence. However, when serving non-referential condition introducing or pause filler function, its semantic content seems to reduce at most to a vacant discourse marker. The syntactic distribution of *hitlo* progresses from central to peripheral, corresponding to its semantic change proceeding from concrete to abstract. The multi-functions of *hitlo* in Taiwanese Southern Min, hence, may be the evidence that it is undergoing a grammaticalizational effect.

Moreover, we want to further propose a filled demonstrative principle, which states that it seems to be a universal phenomenon to use the demonstrative as a pause filler. In the literature, demonstratives in English, Chinese, Japanese, and Taiwanese are all found to serve as a pause filler. We want to relate this phenomenon with the interactional function which *hitlo* serves in Taiwanese. Because demonstratives can signal an interpersonal involvement, it is favored by the speaker to use demonstratives as filled pause. It illustrates that discourse is a cooperative process which the interlocutors always try to coordinate with each other even during an utterance gap.

Furthermore, this principle may also suggest that these demonstratives are experiencing a grammaticalization effect. This, in turn, may suggest that grammaticalization phenomenon is probably a universal process which occurs cross-linguistically.

5. Conclusion

This study has investigated the discourse functions of *hitlo* in spoken Taiwanese and also discussed the interactive function in relation to these functions based on authentic conversations. The findings can be summarized in the following.

First, as recognized in the previous studies, distal demonstrative *hitlo* is also found to refer to an element either textually or extralinguistically. However, the deictic usage is not enough to account for the complexity of *hitlo* in discourse level. A close observation reveals that it is also used to signal the coming of a new but identifiable referent in the conversation.

On the other hand, *hitlo* serves as a hedging expression, conveying imprecision of assertions, and signaling uncertainty or vagueness of statements.

In addition, *hitlo* is found to occur in the context that when the speaker is about to utter a conditional sentence. It seems to foretell the coming of a conditional sentence to the hearer.

Finally, in spoken Taiwanese, *hitlo* also functions as a pause filler. *Hitlos* occurring in this category can fulfill three different functions: to keep speech turn, to signal the planning difficulty or to indicate the boundary of discourse topics.

Specifically, an interactive function in relation to the use of *hitlo* in spoken Taiwanese is witnessed. In spoken discourse, *hitlo* can be used to indicate an addressee involvement.

Furthermore, these coexisting versatile functions seem to exhibit that *hitlo* in Taiwanese Southern Min is undergoing a process of grammaticalization. It seems to progress from a lexical element to a semantically vacant discourse marker.

In conclusion, the distal deixis *hitlo* in spoken Taiwanese is not merely a deictic term. *Hitlo* can fulfill several functions; deictic expression is just one of its diverse usages. The different functions of *hitlo*, hence, can only be interpreted by different planes of discourse contexts. The study shows that the dynamic nature of discourse context gives rise to the emergence of new discourse functions of a linguistic unit and forces it to become a highly grammaticalized discourse element. This, in turn, proves the dynamic nature of grammar and language. It reveals that language and grammar are not static systems but shaped by interlocutors in the process of language use.

References

- Arnold, Jennifer E., Maria Fagnano, and Michael K. Tanenhaus. 2003. Disfluencies signal thee, um, new information. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, 32, 25-37.
- Bortfeld, Heather, Silvia D. Leon, Jonathan E. Bloom, Michael F. Schober, and Susan E. Brennan. 2001. Disfluency rates in conversation: effects of age, relationship, topic, role, and gender. *Language and Speech*, 44, 123-147
- Cheng, Robert ed., co-translated by Hsun-hui Chang, Shu-fen Fujitani, and Lianying Wu. 1989. *Mandarin Function Words and Their Taiwanese Equivalents*. Taipei: The Crane Publishing Co.
- Cheshire, J. 1996. That jacksprat: an interactional perspective on English *that*. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 25, 369-393
- Chang, Miao-Hsia. 2002. Discourse functions of *Anne* in Taiwanese Southern Min. *Concentric: Studies in English Literature and Linguistics*, 28(2), 85-115
- Crystal, David. 1980. *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. City, UK: Blackwell Publishing Co. Ltd.
- Dong Zhong-si, Shu-xian Cheng, and Ping-sheng Zhang eds., 2001. *Taiwan Minnanyu Cidian*. Taipei: Wu-nan Culture Enterprise.
- Goto Masataka, Katunobu Itou, and Satoru Hayamizu. 2002. Speech completion: on-demand completion assistance using filled pauses for speech input interfaces. In *Proceedings of the 7th International Conference on Spoken Language Processing (ICSLP-2002)*, 1489-1492. September 2002.
- Huang, Shuanfan-fan. 1999. The emergence of a grammatical category *definite article* in spoken Chinese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 31, 77-94.
- Kubler, Cornelius. 1988. Code switching between Taiwanese and Mandarin in Taiwan. *The Structure of Taiwanese: A Modern Synthesis*, ed. by Cheng, Robert L., and Shuanfan Huang, 263-284. Taipei: The Crane Publishing Co.
- Li, Ing Cherry. 1999. *Utterance-Final Particles in Taiwanese: A Discourse-Pragmatic Analysis*. Taipei: The Crane Publishing Co.
- Lee, Yu-hsin. 1999. *Discourse functions of He and Che in Taiwanese*. National Taiwan Normal University MA thesis.
- Liu, Fang-chun Fanny. 2003. *Zheyang(zi) in Taiwan Mandarin: discourse functions and grammaticalization*. National Taiwan Normal University MA thesis.
- Mauranen, Anna. 2004. "They're a little bit different"... : observations on hedges in academic talk. *Discourse Patterns in Spoken and Written Corpora*, ed. by Aijmer, Karin, and Anna-Brita Stenström, 173-197. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co.
- O'Connell, Daniel C., and Sabine Kowal. 2004. The history of research on the filled pause as evidence of the written language bias in linguistics (Linell, 1982). *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, 33, 459-474.
- Rose, Ralph. 1998. *The communicative value of filled pauses in spontaneous speech*. University of Birmingham MA thesis.
- Wasow, Thomas. 1997. Remarks on grammatical weight. *Language Variation and Change*, 9, 81-105. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wilkins, David P. 1993. Interjections as deictics. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 18, 119-158.
- Zhao, Yuan, and Dan Jurafsky. 2005. A preliminary study of Mandarin filled pauses. In *Proceedings of Diss'05, Disfluency in Spontaneous Speech Workshop*, 10-12, September 2005, Aix-en-Provence, France.